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tep:k:[71]	seal
naha ''at:	otter
k:yo 'k:ut:	badger
hoi:	deer
či 'u:	cottontail rabbit
tsa 'pal:	jack rabbit
mam:l:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tc:mtc:m)[73]; rattlesnake (ta 'mhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (šakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa 'tswats, duck; u'lui 'lum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (y:tswahats), and the other (la 'ptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (toh:l) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[71] These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tep:k was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72] He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73] Bat was a dream helper.

[74] This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telanni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman had to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tuñao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lakana´nač, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

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revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4]

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident.

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus:

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

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ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level, and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about November and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

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796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent 769 dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental 796 features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

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thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weasel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

182 153 First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a conditioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time, too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

182 787 825 Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things, and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

152 182 787 825 There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security" perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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182 ture, but the impact of externals is there and cannot be expunged from a plenary consideration of the factors affecting integration (or the lack of it) in a total culture.

So extreme have been the controversial views on the determination or non-determination of culture by environment that we have eschewed the problem where the more flexible or intangible portions of culture are concerned, leaving Wissler's query on the effect of external stimuli on the mind of man still unanswered.[29] Since few would doubt that primitive cultures are adjusted to their local environments, it would seem well to move toward an analytic examination of the specific kind and degree of articulation we may find in a variety of cultures, or of divergences in basically identical cultures in a similar environment (e. g., Maidu, Miwok, Western Mono, Yokuts, along the central segment of the Sierra Nevada foothills). Culture as a spatial and temporal continuum should present new formulations of integration as analytic attention moves from culture to culture geographically and historically, and the environmental ingredient at each phase may offer some clues as to the relative persistence of the nuclear patterns.

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29 Kroeber's previously cited *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* deals with cultures in gross and as categorized by our "culture area" systematization; emphasis is on terrain, ecology, population, economic surplus, and culture climax.

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs.

Wasapël (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore rancherία. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism.

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and [614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as [577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614 825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
[574 giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony,
[565] were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west
[787] is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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182 829

a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

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It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

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182 177 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 182 622 769 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamatc, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematizations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations.

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melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although coocon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa see

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xó paʔa see(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [Kr2] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

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[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[182] [193]

[p.8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of Yokuts language. One wonders if thought processes, habituated to precise grammatical forms, conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

● [182 195 153] [114]

[4] The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5] The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that
of the Plaiades, the group of discontented young
wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are
localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
lieved to record recent historical events, New-
man obtained two, one the narrative of an actual
war between several tribal groups (which is not
included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton re-
corded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Trans-
formation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and
the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an
actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture
persist, seems more palpably in effect in myth-
ology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There
is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts
and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands
of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is
theoretically free to choose his literary ma-
terials, yet he persistently tells his story ac-
cording to traditional form. This observation
is an old one, but it can never be overempha-
sized. And it is recalled here because the
stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North
American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible
dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades,
and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in
their tales. But instead of being used fre-
quently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in
Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly,
one in one tale, another in another. Now, this
may be narrative restraint, or it may be con-
forming to tradition, or both. But simplicity
is maintained in spite of the possibility for
florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear
upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may
be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths
as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land
was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
come, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should
necessitate adherence to general plot even though
details might be altered or augmented. The sec-
ond factor, which actually would affect the

[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).